

## Spanish Philology and the Arab Past: A Case Study

*The traditional practice of hispanomedievalism is, technically speaking, fetishistic: it responds to a lack (of texts) with a fantasmatic presence, willed melancholically into being (the corpus of reconstructed and 'lost' literature).*

--Catherine Brown, "The Relics of Menéndez Pidal,"

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Perhaps there is no better example of the melancholic construction of lost literature than the textual tradition used to reconstruct the legend of the last Visigothic king of Iberia, Rodrigo. According to legend, after Rodrigo seduced the daughter of his trusted vassal, Count Julián, the latter, seeking revenge, allied with the invading Muslims, ultimately allowing them to conquer the Iberian Peninsula in 711 CE. Not only did this legend inspire medieval scholars to populate the tale with the "lost" literature of the Visigoths' predecessors, i.e. the Romans and other lost civilizations of the Bible, it has also led several modern scholars to propose ("will melancholically into being") fantastical, lost Arab and vernacular historical sources for the legend. In this paper I examine how one of the best known of twentieth-century Spanish philologists and literary historians, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, hypothesized, and attempted to prove the existence not only of a lost Arabic source for this legend, but of an even earlier lost Visigothic epic on the theme of the events of 711. This process of textual recuperation

exemplifies how this Arab narrative of defeat was Hispanicized, i.e. how it was endowed with a textual history (its own narrative of origins) that allowed it to then serve as a suitable, even exemplary proof text of Spanish nationalism. Catherine Brown has already pointed out the deeply theoretical nature of Menéndez Pidal's philological reconstruction of lost Spanish epics, by which he "constructs a literary-historical wholeness and continuity that authenticate and give meaning to the surviving fragments of Castilian heroic poetry" (20). Brown's study focuses primarily on Menéndez Pidal's reconstructions of passages of the *Cantar de Mio Cid* and of the *Siete infantes de Lara* stitched together from fragments of later chronicles and testified to by early modern *romances* or ballads. The legend of Rodrigo, however, offers a further example of this process of exhumation and recorporalization, but one in which no originary text can be found.

In *La epopeya castellana*, a work based on a series of talks he gave in the first decade of the twentieth century but not published until 1959, Menéndez Pidal hypothesizes the existence and survival of elements of a uniquely Spanish Visigothic epic in the later Castilian tradition (43-5). As proof of this very early epic tradition, Menéndez Pidal offers allusions in the work of both Tacitus and Jordanes, both of whom mention the epic songs of the Goths (*Epopeya castellana* 20-22).<sup>1</sup> The works of these classical authors preserve the proof or trace of an earlier narrative—a Visigothic epic poem. For Menéndez Pidal these allusions in the work of late classical authors are enough not only to prove that

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<sup>1</sup> Jordanes mentions the songs of the "United Goths," specifying that they sang of the deeds of their ancestors, including the names of some of the Gothic kings ("Eterpamara, Hanala, Fritigern, Vidigoia and others") (62).

the Visigoths brought epic poetry to Spain, but that Rodrigo's reign and the fall of Visigothic Spain must have been the subject of such songs: "Además hay que suponer que la tan divulgada leyenda del último rey godo, Rodrigo, proviene en gran parte de poemas aproximadamente contemporáneos del infortunado rey, conocidos sin duda por los historiadores árabes ya en el siglo VIII" (*Epopéya castellana* 23) (In addition, we must suppose that the well-known legend of the last Visigothic king, Rodrigo, originates in large part from roughly contemporary poems about the unfortunate king, poems known without a doubt by Arab historians already in the eighth century). Here Menéndez Pidal maintains not only that the lost epic tradition of Rodrigo must have been contemporary to the events it narrates, but that it must also be the source for the first Arab histories that preserve it. The earliest known chroniclers that recounted information concerning Rodrigo, include the compiler of the Latin *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754*, who uses both Arabic and Latin sources and includes very brief sections on the events of 711, and the Egyptian Ibn Abd al-Hakam, whose ninth-century chronicle, the *Futuh Misr/Conquest of Egypt* contains a section devoted to the conquest of Al-Andalus that includes elements of the Rodrigo legend. Menéndez Pidal's theory is that both used the now lost Visigothic (oral) epic as a source for their written accounts.

Menéndez Pidal fleshed out his theory of the lost Visigothic epic of Rodrigo's reign and the fall of Spain in his full-length study on Rodrigo in 1925, *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas, Rodrigo el último godo*. In this study,

Menéndez Pidal adopts vocabulary worthy of Michel Foucault to describe the legend of Rodrigo as a vestige of a lost Visigothic tradition:

[E]l relato épico de la pérdida de España, resto arqueológico único de la literatura visigótica, floreció poéticamente mucho antes que las leyendas castellanas y se agotó antes también. En el siglo XII daba aún destellos de poesía que iluminaban la ruta de un juglar francés peregrino a Compostela. Pero a fines del XIII el tema del rey Rodrigo parece que estaba muy abandonado por los juglares de gesta. (*Floresta* xi-xii)

The epic story of the Loss of Spain, a unique archeological remnant of Visigothic literature, poetically flowered long before the Castilian legends and also ceased to be popular long before they did. In the twelfth century it still gave off sparks of poetry that illuminated the route of a French jongleur-pilgrim toward Compostela. But, toward the end of the thirteenth century, it seems as if the topic of Rodrigo was abandoned by the jongleurs of epic poetry.

Here Menéndez Pidal constructs a lost Visigothic epic tradition—"el núcleo visigótico"—and its textual history vis-à-vis the later Castilian epic tradition. Existing versions of the legend of Rodrigo, romances and chronicle, are but archeological remains—fossils or traces of a much richer, fuller (better) lost Visigothic epic cycle. As in the *Reliquias* discussed by Brown, here Menéndez Pidal provides us with "a meta-narrative in which these sad fragments are to be understood and reincarnated as a living corpus of 'poesía épica española'"

(Brown 21). But in this case, because no poetic fragments exist, Menéndez Pidal must use secondary witnesses, chronicles, and fictional accounts, to reconstruct the lost epic. He structures his study to privilege Latin-Romance accounts, citing first not Ibn Abd al-Hakam's *Futuh Misr*, but what he claims is "el más antiguo testimonio directamente español que acerca de ella (la leyenda de Rodrigo) hoy conocemos" (the oldest directly/clearly Spanish testimony related to it [the legend of Rodrigo] that we know of today)—namely, the eleventh-century *Chronica gotorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*. Menéndez Pidal further says that the earlier Arab chronicles support what this and later Christian accounts say (*Floresta* xxv).<sup>2</sup>

By positing Visigothic origins for the legend of Rodrigo's betrayal, Menéndez Pidal changes it from a tale of Mediterranean expansion that has survived in Mozarab chronicles and Arab narratives of conquest to a jongleuresque tale with its origins in the culture of the Goths who swept down from Northern Europe, and changes the direction and means of knowledge transfer (*translatio imperium*) from written to oral and from South (Mediterranean/Arab) to North (European/Gothic). As a counter argument to the fact that the Arab sources do exist, and the Visigothic one he proposes does not, Menéndez Pidal states simply that the story of Rodrigo and his betrayal by Count Julián could not be of interest to Arab historians: "Los vencedores no están por

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<sup>2</sup> The heavy dependence of the early Latin accounts such as the *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754* on Arabic sources, and the debt that these and later Latin accounts such as that of Jiménez de Rada owe to the Arab tradition is glossed over/ dissimulated by Menéndez Pidal in his study of the legend of Rodrigo. The *Floresta* notes it as a curious fact, but then proceeds to present the development of the legend among almost exclusively Christian writers (of the 121, pages 15-16 are dedicated to discussing Arab sources) (*Floresta* xxiv-c).

modo alguno interesados en explicar la debilidad de los vencidos, sino al revés, en exagerar el número y fortaleza del enemigo. A los cristianos hemos, pues, de atribuir la leyenda de la traición de Olián” (*Floresta*, xxvii) (The victors are not in any way interested in explaining the weakness of the vanquished, rather, they are interested in exaggerating the number and strength of the enemy. Thus, we should attribute the legend of the betrayal of Count Julián to the Christians).

Menéndez Pidal returns to the Rodrigo legend in *Los godos y la epopeya española*, and compares the early (lost) Spanish Visigothic epic to Beowulf and other early European traditions, noting that given the extremely poor historiography of the period we can not expect any allusion to the epic poems of Rodrigo, much less the survival of such a cycle (22-23). This lack of textual or even second-hand accounts of a Visigothic epic tradition in Iberia does not prevent Menéndez Pidal from asserting its existence. In fact, he maintains the existence not only of this lost Rodrigo epic, but also of variants of the Fall of Spain, in which la Cava's rape is sometimes attributed to Rodrigo and sometimes to Witiza (*Los godos* 40). Menéndez Pidal even asserts that while this Witiza-Rodrigo epic cycle survived because of its continuing interest for all those fighting in the Reconquest, many other epics commemorating other Visigothic rulers and ancestors existed but have since been lost (41).

In the series of studies he published between 1896 and 1959 Menéndez Pidal effectively populated the early Iberian past with the corpses or ghosts of the Visigothic epic—chief among them that of Rodrigo. Like the dead, though, none of these legends can speak, their voices, like the voices of their transmitters,

have all been lost. Their trace, however, according to Menéndez Pidal, can be found among later texts—Arab, Latin and Romance histories, and Castilian ballads or *romances*. Menéndez Pidal assembles a series of second hand testimonies indicating that the Visigoths did sing songs, some of them about their ancestors, but, unlike *Beowulf* or the *Nibelungenlied*, these Visigothic songs have not survived. But this lack at the heart of the national enterprise haunts the Rodrigo legend and extends even beyond the traditional epic tradition, into the historiographical tradition. And while Menéndez Pidal effectively wrote the elegy for the Visigothic epic in the studies cited above, he also, though, suggested the unlikely means through which it may be resuscitated—the works penned by Arab historians that he hypothesized had used such Visigothic oral epics to create their written histories. In the next section I explore how one such Arab history, the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis*, served as the proof text not only of the Visigothic epic, but also of the Rodrigo legend itself.

### Rodrigo Found

*Estando yo un día en Alcaná de Toledo, llegó un  
muchacho a vender cartapacios . . . aquellos  
cartapacios contenían la historia de don Quijote. . . .  
Si a ésta se le puede poner alguna objeción cerca de  
su verdad, no podrá ser otra sino haber sido su autor  
arábigo, siendo muy propio de los de aquella nación  
ser mentirosos.*

*One day, as I was in the Alcaná of Toledo, a boy  
selling notebooks and papers to a silk merchant  
walked by me . . . those notebooks contained the  
history of Don Quixote . . . If there's any objection to  
its truth, the only one could be that its author is  
Arabic, and it's a very common trait for people of that  
origin to be liars*

*-- Cervantes, Don Quijote, I chp. 9*

Cervantes alludes to the complexities behind the search for origins—national and historical—in the passage from *Don Quijote* above. By having this narrator, who is also it seems a historical researcher, and who, despite the logical contradiction, finds his source material for the life of the great sixteenth-century Christian Spanish knight in the chronicle of the Arab historian, Cide Hamete, Cervantes problematizes not only the use of Arab sources for the “Spanish” past, but also the very role of Muslims in the creation of a national “Spanish” past. Cervantes’ construction of a found Arab manuscript, its author, the Muslim historian Cide Hamete, and of the derogatory comments of the Castilian narrator who uses it as source text anticipates Edward Said’s assertion that the search for evidence of origins repeats the conflicts of the past and must constantly be interrogated (*Beginnings* xii-xiii, 5-6).



Perhaps there is no better example (apart from Cervantes' Cide Hamete) of the conflictive nature of the nationalist historian's quest for origins than the reconstruction and deployment of the so-called *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* as proof text of the Rodrigo legend in the Spanish tradition.<sup>3</sup> As I explore below, the lost Arab chronicle attributed to the tenth-century Andalusí historian, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ar-Rasi, that narrated the defeat of Rodrigo and Fall of Spain, and Hispanomedievalists' avid and elaborate attempts to recuperate it, reveal deep anxiety over their philological and nationalist enterprises. While this particular chronicle is not thought to offer information unavailable elsewhere regarding the events of 711, which, as described above, survives in a series of chronicles in a variety of languages over some 700 years, the critical debate surrounding it, and the ideological underpinnings of that debate privilege the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* as a uniquely Andalusí source text for later Castilian scholars.

The textual history of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* reads as a who's who of Peninsular philology, as well as a cautionary tale regarding the distortions that national ideologies and the "scientific rigor" of neo-Lachmanian textual criticism can be used to support. With the case of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* all the paleontological and codicological studies of Castilian and Portuguese late medieval manuscripts cannot recuperate a lost tenth-century Arab chronicle. They can, however, reveal much about the anxieties and apprehensions

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<sup>3</sup> In this study I refer to this hypothetical work, which as I argue, I believe to be the creation of textual critics more than the work of the historian ar-Rasi, as the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis*. Peninsular critics refer to it as the *Crónica del moro Rasis*, creating a title on the basis of the Conde de Barcelos's attribution of the work to a translator named Mahomad, following the tradition of ar-Rasi (see below).

surrounding the narrative that the lost original was thought to contain, for in their reconstructions (or as Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos describes it “reversions” *retroversão*—a term I believe she coins to describe the process of textual criticism used in the reconstruction of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis*), this lost chronicle becomes a blank slate onto which each critic could map his/her own preferred version of the Loss of Spain (13).

A tenth-century Andalusí scholar, Ahmad ar-Rasi (887-955 CE), did, apparently produce a chronicle of al-Andalus that contained a geographical description of the Peninsula as known in the Umayyad period. No original Arab copy of such a work exists, but it is attested to by the fact that several other Arab historians, including Ibn Hayyan, Ibn Bassam, Ibn al-Hattib, and al-Makarri allude to and cite such a work (Gayangos 8). According to twentieth-century hispanomedievalists, however, the material to which these scholars refer, a geographical description of the Peninsula, was but the first section of ar-Rasi’s more extensive but now lost work—the subsequent sections being an overview of the peoples and history of Iberia before the Muslim invasion (including the legend of Rodrigo and the Fall of Spain) and a chronicle of Muslim rule until 997 (Sánchez Albornoz “La Crónica” 230; Gayangos 5). However, whether such a work ever included the detailed description of Rodrigo’s rise to power or his seduction of la Cava and betrayal by Julián—elements found in Ibn Abd al-Hakam’s ninth-century chronicle—is far from certain. Early Arabists such as Miguel Casiri, Reinhart Dozy (discussed below), and other nineteenth-century philologists suggested that the Castilian work given the title *Crónica del moro*

*Rasis*, and which included details of Rodrigo's fall, was in fact a loose collection of older histories mixed with fantastical stories and "fábulas absurdas" associated with ar-Rasi's name in order to legitimate it (Gayangos 10). For many Spanish, Portuguese and French scholars, though, it is a fourteenth-century allusion to the work's translation that has served as the point of departure for interest into the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* and its presumed ideological import:

Et nos maestre Mahomad e Gil Perez clerigo de do Peynos Porcel (*sic*),  
por mandado del muy noble rrei don Dionis por la gracia de Dios rrei de  
Portogal trasladamos este libro de arabigo en lengua portogalesa et  
ternemos por bien de seguir nos el su curso de Rrasi. De mi Gil Perez os  
digo que non meti mas ni menos de quanto me dixeron Mahomad et los  
otros que me leieron. (Lindley Cintra cccxxxi n34)<sup>4</sup>

And we, Master Mahomad and Gil Perez, cleric of Peynos Porçel,  
commanded by the very noble king Don Dionis, by the grace of God King  
of Portugal, translate this book from Arabic into Portuguese and in so  
doing we choose to follow the way of Rasi. On my behalf, I, Gil Perez, can  
assure you that I put down no more nor less than what Mahomad and the  
others told and read to me.

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<sup>4</sup> Lindley Cintra points out that this attribution is only found in the Castilian version of the *Crónica de 1344* (Ca) (xxxii). Andrés de Resende in his study of the now lost Portuguese copy included a similar attribution in Latin (Catálan y Soledad de Andrés *Crónica de 1344* 3). It should be noted that Gayangos pointed out that the same material (that considered here as the *Crónica del moro Rasis*) was said to have been translated by none other than Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in another manuscript (7 n1).

Here the Conde de Barcelos claims that a Portuguese translator, Gil Pérez, at the instigation of the Portuguese king Dom Dionís had a Muslim translator (Mahomad) work with him to make a Portuguese translation of ar-Rasi's history. This statement, found in a fourteenth-century Castilian chronicle, has led to a series of studies seeking the lost translations and Arab original of ar-Rasi's text. The Conde de Barcelos's assertion seemed to offer scholars such as Menéndez Pidal and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz an explicit example of the kinds of translation processes and scholarly cooperation that Spanish scholars had long argued were employed in the workshops of Alfonso X in compiling the grand historical narratives of the Castilian tradition, such as the *Estoria de España* and the *General historia*. In addition, medieval Spanish literature includes other fictional works that similarly claim to be based on lost manuscripts—most notably in the romance of chivalry, *Amadís de Gaula* (Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo).

The Conde de Barcelos's statement, however, has been accepted as true by Peninsular philologists, and has lead both Portuguese and Spanish scholars to make a series of claims regarding the authenticity of this supposed translation and its value as source text for later scholars, most notably those working in the Alfonsine workshops of the fourteenth century who ultimately produced what Menéndez Pidal called the *Crónica de 1344* (*Siete infantes*).<sup>5</sup> The earliest scholars to make claims regarding Ahmad ar-Rasi and his chronicle were both sixteenth-century Iberian Arabists—the humanist Andrés de Resende (d. 1573) and Ambrosio de Morales (d. 1591). Both men claimed to own a copy of the

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<sup>5</sup> Diego Catalán and María Soledad de Andrés would publish an edition of the *Crónica de 1344* in 1970.

*Chronicle of ar-Rasis*. According to Pascual Gayangos, Morales' copy ended up in the Biblioteca del Escorial (and exists to this day as witness MS. E, now dated to the fourteenth century), and, according to Diego Catalán, it is an extract from the *Crónica de 1344* and not a variant of ar-Rasi's chronicle (Introduction xvi-xvii). The sixteenth-century scholar and cleric Andrés de Resende referred to a personal copy he owned in his own studies and in a letter to Bartolomé de Quevedo, claiming that his was a copy of Gil Pérez's original Portuguese translation based on the translator-scribe Muhammad's Arab copy. But Resende's copy disappeared—thought to have been lost in an earthquake in 1734—and, as Carolina Michaëlis tells us, the secondary evidence that survives tells us very little about it: “Resende deixa de dizer: se o seu códice era membranáceo ou de papel? Um in-folio ou in-quarto? De século que decorre de 1250 a 1350, ou moderno? Original ou cópia? Tirada por quem, onde e quando?” (12) (Resenda fails to mention whether his codex was of parchment or paper, used folios or quartos, what century it was from—1250-1350 or modern—or whether it was an original or copy, made by whom, where, when).<sup>6</sup> As later scholars reiterate, material seems to have been continually added by both Muslims and Christians to what was called the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis*, and in the absence of Resende's copy it now proves impossible to determine what could be

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<sup>6</sup> Michaëlis points out the harm done by focusing on translations instead of the original, “Ligando importancia maior aos dizeres dos traductores do que aos do verdadeiro autor, procedimento que lastimo mas compreendo, o Eborensense não chega a expor qual era o título e o conteúdo do *Livro árabe*” (11) (Placing more importance on the words of the translators than on those of the true author, a method that pains me, but I understand it: the Eborensense does not explain what the title or the content of the Arab book was). Despite this warning in 1922, as we explore in this paper, the emphasis continues to be on the translations.

considered authentic in any of what are thought of as copies of it (accepting that such a copy did in fact exist).<sup>7</sup>

The nineteenth-century Arabist Pascual de Gayangos offered a reconstruction and Castilian translation of the lost Arabic *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* in an 1852 study (offered to assume the position of “académico supernumerario”) and underscored its importance for the history of the Spanish nation: “es una de las mas importantes para la historia nacional, y mereceria bien ser trasladada a nuestro idioma” (30) (It is one of the most important for national history and deserves to be well translated into our language). He begins his study by listing some fourteen manuscripts of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis*, known to exist through various secondary witnesses, giving the impression that not only did/does such a chronicle exist, but that it did/does in many extant versions (6). The manuscripts to which Gayangos refers, however, are all later Castilian histories—several poor copies of Morales’ copy--and all but two are modern or have been lost.<sup>8</sup> The two that Gayangos uses for his reconstruction, are later medieval texts—the first from the end of the fourteenth century and the second dated by Gayangos to 1400.<sup>9</sup> Both are, according to Gayangos, in poor shape, most notably lacking pages and

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<sup>7</sup> Scholars who emphasize the tendency for this work to accommodate emendations and accretions include Gayangos, Lafuente (who includes it among the anonymous *Ajbar Machmua*), Levi-Provençal (“La ‘Description’” 52) and Michaëlis (5).

<sup>8</sup> Menéndez Pidal, however, claims these two are the only old copies (“manuscritos antiguos”), and the basis for the many other extant modern editions (*Crónicas generales* 15).

<sup>9</sup> These are the same two manuscripts that Menéndez Pidal uses in his 1898 study, informing us that Ambrosio de Morales’ copy was given to the Conde de Lanzarote and the other was given to the Cathedral of Toledo where it was then housed (*Crónicas generales* 15).

whole sections on the arrival of the Muslims and the reigns of the Gothic kings (7). Gayangos, who had edited the seventeenth-century histories of al-Makarri, continues in his study of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* to compare these fourteenth-century Castilian histories to the work of ar-Rasi as described by al-Makarri in the seventeenth century (16). Clearly, declaring that medieval manuscripts are incomplete because they lack material that historians some three hundred years later include in their own histories seems a dubious intellectual exercise (much as comparing translations of translations in order to reconstruct lost “originals” may seem to new philologists), and yet, Gayangos’s emphasis on both the physical and narrative lack of the ar-Rasis material (of physical folios and of the chronology of events of 711) found in the only existing witnesses is a motif that continues (and even expands) to characterize twentieth-century philological studies of the Rodrigo chronicle.

Gayangos accepts the existence of the Portuguese translator mentioned by el Conde de Barcelos (Gil Pérez) and gives him a large role as creator of the chronicle that has come down to us. Gayangos explains that it must be this translator who culled the information about Gothic kings, including the events of 711 and legend of Rodrigo (which are lacking in the manuscripts Gayangos uses to reconstruct ar-Rasi’s chronicle) from other sources, and that this material does not come from ar-Rasi.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Gayangos does not, however, dismiss the possibility that ar-Rasi did write on the Rodrigo legend, “A pesar de lo expuesto, no nos atreveremos á decidir que esta parte de la crónica sea enteramente una adición de Gil Perez, o quien quiera que fuera el traductor de Rasis. Los árabes conocían nuestra historia mucho mayor de lo que pensamos” (23-24) (Despite what has been asserted, we

Es probable que el traductor portugués, no hallando en los escritos de Ar-Razi una noticia bastante extensa de los reyes de la España primitiva, de la venida de los fenicios, cartagineses y romanos; de la irrupcion de los alanos, suevos, vándalos y otras naciones del Norte, de los godos y sus reyes hasta los tiempos de Don Rodrigo, supliria dicha falta con ayuda de los cronicones y memorias que hubiese en su tiempo; quizás también con las poéticas tradiciones de una edad en que la fábula y las ficciones caballerescas remplazaban las más veces a la historia.” (22)

It's likely that the Portuguese translator, not finding in the writings of ar-Razi enough information about the kings of the primitive Spain, the arrival of the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, or the Romans; the sudden appearance of the Alans, Suevi, Vandals and other nations from the North, or of the Visigoths and their kings up until the time of Rodrigo, would have supplemented this lack with the help of the chronicles and memories that existed at this time, perhaps also from the poetic traditions of an age during which fables and chivalrous fiction often replaced history.

Gayangos states that it is precisely in the sections dealing with Rodrigo and the last Visigothic kings that the Portuguese translator freely and frequently adds material and even, apparently, forgets his role as translator, adding his own commentaries (23). Gayangos here already describes the creation of a

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do not dare to decide that this part of the chronicle is entirely an addition of Gil Perez o whoever was the translator of the Rasis. The Arabs knew our history much better than we think).



Frankenstein text—one that began with ar-Rasi's narrative, but then was supplemented and transformed centuries later by a Portuguese translator from a variety of hypothetical contemporary (non-Arab) texts, including even possibly a lost poetic tradition (here Gayangos seemingly anticipates Menéndez Pidal's hypothesis regarding the Visigothic epic of Rodrigo discussed above).

One voice that subtly sought to direct the study of the *Crónica del moro Rasis* in another direction was that of the Spanish Arabist, Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara, who published a Castilian translation of one of the Arab manuscripts Gayangos uses to support his theory of the existence of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* (*Ajbar Machmua*). Following the lead of the Dutch Arabist, Reinhart Dozy, who argued that ar-Rasi's original history must have consisted of nothing more than a description of Iberia and history of the Umayyad rulers of al-Andalus, and who credits later scholars and translators, including Gil Pérez, with changing the Arab original, and with interpolating other material, Lafuente describes this work, which he publishes under the title of *Ajbar Machmua (Colección de tradiciones)*: *Crónica anónima del siglo XI, dada a luz por primera vez* not as the work of ar-Rasi, but as a compilation of early works regarding the events of 711 and the early history of the Umayyads (Lafuente vi; Dozy 23-25).<sup>11</sup> For Lafuente, this work is a compilation of narratives of interest *because* of its anonymity, and he stresses the fact that the compiler used legends that were popular among the people, and it was this that gave the collection its authority/legitimacy—not its association with any known historians (vii). Despite Lafuente's claims for

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<sup>11</sup> Levi Provençal also points out that Gayangos's study contains a number of "obscurities" (51).

anonymity and for a textual tradition that in many ways anticipated later philologists' theories for the popular accumulative nature of the development of Castilian histories, this work—his *Crónica anónima* found in the Biblioteca Imperial in Paris--would continue to be used by later Spanish scholars as proof of the existence of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasi*.<sup>12</sup>

### Ar-Rasi Lost

Lafuente's study appeared some thirty years before Menéndez Pidal's 1896 study, *Los siete infantes de Lara*, in which the latter presents the idea that the later Castilian Alfonsine chronicles are compilations of earlier material, including many popular anonymous traditions—with epic poetry having, in Menéndez Pidal's opinion, pride of place (*Los siete infantes* 49).<sup>13</sup> This theory of the supplementary relationship between written and oral traditions, which is so crucial for his reconstruction of both the *Siete infantes* and the *Cantar de Mío*

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<sup>12</sup> MS núm. 706 *ancien fond*; today BnF *Arabe* 1867, dated to the sixteenth century. Gayangos had translated the section of this Paris manuscript dealing with Tarik in his 1867 study (discussed above), suggesting that it could be ar-Rasi's *Chronicle*. The fact that the work appears with no attribution just after the text of Ibn al-Qutiyya's chronicle, which is clearly attributed to the latter, further underscores the fact that the compiler did not associate this material with ar-Rasi (or alternatively, that it was ar-Rasi himself who compiled it as Gayangos suggests).

<sup>13</sup> "Siempre la Historia en sus primeros períodos se alimentó del jugo de la epopeya, pero ésta en la literature castellana influyó sobre aquella mucho más poderosamente que en los otros pueblos vecinos al nuestro" (Menéndez Pidal, *Los siete infantes* 49) (In its first epochs, History always nourishes itself on the juice of the epic, but it was the latter in the case of Castilian literature that influenced History much more powerfully than is the case in our neighbor's traditions).

*Cid*, leads to the idea that one could “complete” the supposedly fragmented narrative of one with the other. In many ways the lost *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* serves Menéndez Pidal much as lost epic poetry did—both serve as “authentic” source texts for later Castilian chroniclers. And Menéndez Pidal makes just such an argument in his study and catalogue of the chronicles of Spain found in the library of the Spanish monarchs, *Las crónicas generales de España*. In several of the manuscript descriptions in this catalogue Menéndez Pidal frames the importance of each according to their value in supplementing lost narratives of Spanish history (*Crónica generales* ix). One of the first claims he makes is, in fact, that the material he has catalogued has provided the missing sections of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis*, allowing us to complete the *Crónica del moro Rasis* with the fragment of narratives it was lacking (*Crónica generales* vii). From Gayangos’ study he takes the fact that only two early copies of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* translated into Castilian survive, and that these copies are, as Gayangos claimed incomplete and “defectuosos” (defective) (15). Menéndez Pidal’s claim that one extant chronicle from 1344 can be used to reconstruct “that which is lacking” in the early versions, then, does not contradict Gayangos’s findings, but chooses to read the same sources differently—privileging especially one particular manuscript from 1344. This is number fifteen from the *Real Biblioteca* (signatura 2.1.2, *M* in the *Siete infantes*, today MS II/875 PR Real Biblioteca), a manuscript of some 339 folios on paper that does tell the tale of Rodrigo and his fall, but omits any reference to the Conde de Berceles or the translator Gil Pérez (*Crónica generales* 25). While Gayangos (and others) would have claimed that a

manuscript possibly from the fourteenth century that includes an expanded form of the legend of Rodrigo and the fall of Spain would simply be an example of one of the many accretions and transformations added to ar-Rasi's narrative by later historians and copyists, Menéndez Pidal claims that the material found in this manuscript "fills the void" concerning the last Visigothic king's rule (*Crónica generales* 15).<sup>14</sup> Just as he had suggested that later chronicles could be used to recuperate lost oral epics (this same *Chronicle of 1344* being, in fact, his source for what he argues is the lost epic cycle of the *Siete Infantes de Lara*), Menéndez Pidal here suggests using a fourteenth-century Castilian text to recuperate a tenth-century Arab history. What is important for Menéndez Pidal is not the Arab historiographical tradition of Iberia, but the Castilian one, and his catalogue aims to show how the historical material in the Royal Library increases this corpus. Constructing the *Crónica de 1344* as a fuller account of the Rasis material fulfills this aim and ultimately privileges this fourteenth-century Castilian material as something better, more complete than the lost Arab and Portuguese originals.

Menéndez Pidal would revisit the evidence in 1925 with his full-length study dedicated to the legend of Rodrigo and its sources discussed above

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<sup>14</sup> Menéndez Pidal claims that ar-Rasi's chronicle was incorporated *in toto* into the Castilian chronicle, even as the marginal notes of the latter suggest that the material comes from a variety of Muslims sources, "En la primera hoja dice el copista en una nota marginal que Rsendio dize de Rasis y su coronica en la carta a Qubedo se vee q esta no es la coronica de Rasis sino cosas sacadas della y delos otros dos autores Mohamed y (en blanco)," (16) (On the first page the copyist says in a marginal note that Rsendio says of ar-Rasi and his chronicle in the letter to Qubedo that you can tell that this is not the chronicle of ar-Rasi, but rather things taken from it and from the other authors Mohamed and [blank space]) .

(*Floresta*).<sup>15</sup> While we have explored above how Menéndez Pidal's study of Rodrigo (*La Floresta*), as do his other studies on the epic, the *Reliquías* and the *Epopeya castellana*, attributes "the non-existent poetic to materially non-existent poems," with his treatment of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* in this study, he also attributes the "non existent poetic" to the materially non-existent Arab chronicle (Brown 23). For Menéndez Pidal, the textual history of the Rodrigo legend comes to incarnate his own conflictive version of literary *convivencia*:

Tan viejísima leyenda ofrece en su desarrollo muy atractivo aspectos. A crearla cooperaron los tres grandes pueblos peninsulares de la Alta Edad Media: el mozárabe, que le da origen al calor de la lucha de los partidos visigóticos que hundieron el trono de Rodrigo; el árabe, que la exorna con ficciones de gusto oriental, y el de los cristianos del Norte, que la recibe y la refunde con tradiciones propias." (*Floresta* xi)

Such an ancient legend offers in its development attractive aspects. Upon creating it, the three great Peninsular peoples of the High Middle Ages cooperated: the Mozarabs give it the heat of the battle of the Visigothic

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<sup>15</sup> In the interim between the publication of the latter and his *Crónicas generales*, his brother Juan Menéndez Pidal published his own study of the Rodrigo legend, *Leyendas del Último Rey godo*. In this work, dedicated to Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Juan Menéndez Pidal uses the *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754* as the "pure" source against which later ones should be judged, and proposes that the sources for both Ibn Abd al-Hakam's account and the Alfonsine histories were oral traditions (7, 12). Of the *Crónica de ar-Razí*, Juan Menéndez Pidal cautiously offers Gayangos' opinion that the material on Rodrigo and the fall of Spain are culled from other Arab sources (not from ar-Rasi's history which probably dealt only with a geographical description of the Peninsula and information on Umayyad caliphs) (18).

troops that caused the fall of Rodrigo's kingdom; the Arabs embellished it with fictions reflecting oriental tastes, and the Christians of the North received it and fused it with their own traditions.

As noted, in this study Menéndez Pidal constructs the Rodrigo legend as a vestige of a lost Visigothic epic, tarnished and transformed in and by the mundane prose of Arab historians. "Ninguna otra leyenda nacional obtuvo de este modo la colaboración de las mayores civilizaciones del mundo moderno" (xii) (No other national legend thus received the collaboration of the major civilizations of the modern world). The Visigothic origins of this legend are, for Menéndez Pidal, indubitable—as is the historic "truth" of this primitive Visigothic legend, over and against the fictions and untruths of the later Arab versions.

Menéndez Pidal projects onto the alleged Portuguese translator, Gil Pérez, his own misgivings with these Arab sources—their apparent untrustworthiness and their lack of elaboration regarding Rodrigo's reign. According to Menéndez Pidal, Gil Pérez, unhappy with the lacunae in ar-Rasi's version concerning the reign of Rodrigo, created in a separate manuscript his own version of the events of 711 (we have yet another version of a lost text here introduced into the textual history of the *Moro Rasis*) which was later added into the Romance translation and is present in later versions such as the *Crónica de 1344*.

La version portuguesa de Rasis, que no se conservó sino vertida, a su vez, al castellano y en dos codices que representan dos textos diferentes, presenta en ambos una chocante laguna que omite casi todo el reinado

de Rodrigo, el cual queda en ambos incompletísimo, con solo su comienzo y su fin. Acaso se interrumpió la traducción de Rasis en este reinado para amplificar el texto árabe con varias tradiciones cristianas, y árabes también; acaso esta amplificación se hizo en un cuaderno aparte por el mismo Gil Pérez, el cual, aunque protesta no haber escrito más ni menos de lo que le decía Mahómed y los otros moros que le leían, parece haber dado excepcional importancia al reinado de Rodrigo, ya que al acabar la obra total de Rasis con la muerte del califa Alhákem, añade un párrafo final en el que se inventa una patraña, según la cual el Miramamolín ‘mandó poner en escrito la hacienda del rey don Rodrigo et componer este libro’. ¡La *hacienda del rey Rodrigo*, que precismanete falte en los dos textos de la traducción! Sea de este cuaderno aparte de la historia del rey Rodrigo, que fuese hecho por Gil Pérez y reincorporado al texto total de la traducción de Rasis en codices menos incompletos que los dos hoy únicos conocidos. (Ixi)

The Portuguese version of Rasis, which was not conserved, but rather translated in turn into Castilian, and in two codices that represent two different texts, has, in both, a shocking *lacuna* that omits almost all of the reign of Rodrigo, which remains in both very incomplete, with only its beginning and end. Perhaps the translation of ar-Rasi was interrupted at this point, during this reign in order to supplement the Arab text with material from various Christian and Arabic traditions; perhaps this added

material was recorded in a separate manuscript by the very same Gil Perez, who, although he claims to have not written more (nor less) than what Mahomed said to him and the other Moors read to him, he seems to have given exceptional importance to the reign of Rodrigo, for after ar-Rasis' work ends, with the death of the *khalif* Al-Hakim, he [Gil Perez] adds a final paragraph in which he invents an old wives' tale according to which Miramolín commanded that the story of Don Rodrigo be put into writing, this being the very book being composed. The *story of Rodrigo*-- which is precisely what is missing in the two copies of the translation! It may be the separate manuscript that has this story of Rodrigo that was made by Gil Perez and reincorporated into the text of the translation of Rasis in more complete codices than the only two we know today.

A text is born, or in Catharine Brown's terminology, willed into being. Here Gil Pérez is transformed from translator mentioned in one manuscript of the *Crónica general* into an active constructor of the legend, and credited with supplementing the Rasis material with Latin and Christian sources on the reign of Rodrigo.

Menéndez Pidal goes on to claim that the material Gil Pérez used to supplement ar-Rasi's chronicle was none other than Iberian oral epics (with Visigothic origins): "¿De dónde proceden todas estas adiciones? Desde que en otra ocasión he desenterrado las principales de ellas, se ha creído que procedían de un original poético, del cual fueron desgajadas para ensartarlas en la traducción de Rasis" (lxxii) (Where do all these additions come from? Since I began to unearth the first of them, it was believed that they came from a poetic original,



from which they were removed in order to put them into the translation of ar-Rasi). So, the theories of Menéndez Pidal about the lost epic and the lost chronicle have come full circle, with the one supplementing the other. Not only does it reinforce the primacy of the Visigothic tradition over that of the Arab historiographical tradition, it also privileges the oral over the written—the latter being contaminated by the biases and political prejudices of earlier generations, while the former remained pure and faithful to its primitive origins or essence. These origins are Visigothic, but filtered through Castile, and, incredibly, given the textual history of the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis*, not Arab or Portuguese.

### **Ar-Rasi Found**

The twentieth-century Spanish medievalist, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, publishes in 1935 an enthusiastic endorsement of Menéndez Pidal's study and, in contrast to Arabists' such as Dozy and Gayangos's assertions that the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* did not include information of Rodrigo and the loss of Spain, maintains that the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* did include such material and that this could be proven by later Castilian chronicles ("La Crónica" 229-65; Adiciones 16). While Menéndez Pidal suggests it was Gil Pérez who "completed" the ar-Rasis material using information from the oral epic tradition, Sánchez Albornoz has a different theory. Among his arguments is the suggestion that ar-Rasi used a Latin source for his chronicle ("La Crónica" 235). Such knowledge of Christian sources, would, in fact, not be exceptional for a "Spanish Muslim" (un musulmán

español).<sup>16</sup> And the fact that in the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* in Castilian does not include the ecclesiastical and religious figures (the Pope, Saint Isidore, etc.) that are included in the *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754* is proof, for Sánchez Albornoz, that the adaptation of the Latin chronicle must have been done by a Muslim, “¿Cómo no hallar en este silencio pleno un indicio seguro para atribuir a un mahometano la paternidad del texto histórico que nos ocupa?” (255) (How can one not find in this loud silence a sure indication that we should attribute the paternity of the historic text we are studying to a Mahometan?).<sup>17</sup> Sánchez Albornoz, like the other philologists whose work we have explored, makes ar-Rasi’s silence speak volumes. In addition, Sánchez Albornoz maintains that it must have been ar-Rasi who used Latin sources and not later transmitters such as the translator Gil Pérez, who, even if he did have access to the *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754*, was, in Sánchez Albornoz’s words, so unscrupulous a historian—inventing and interpolating fantastic episodes into ar-Rasi’s narrative—that he would not have gone to the dry prose of the Latin text (238).<sup>18</sup>

Within a few decades Portuguese scholars would stand up to claim the Rasis material as part of their national history and to assert that the Portuguese

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<sup>16</sup> Sánchez Albornoz cites Gayangos who also makes this claim and who offers a few examples—including Arab translations of Paulo Orosio and of Edelberto cited by medieval Muslim scholars (“La *Crónica*” 252-53).

<sup>17</sup> Differences between ar-Rasi’s version (in the Castilian *Crónica*) and that of the *Crónica mozárabe* Sánchez Albornoz explains away by suggesting that ar-Rasi possibly knew the latter second hand (258).

<sup>18</sup> Sánchez Albornoz also dismisses the possibility that Gil Pérez knew other Latin sources that were used by the *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754* as their source, stating that the *Chronica Gothorum-Pseudo Isidoriana* was not known in Portugal at that time, and that even if other works like it were available it is doubtful that Gil Pérez used them (240).

literary tradition offered a more “authentic” testimony to the lost Arab original than did the Castilian tradition as asserted by Menéndez Pidal and others. Michaëlis de Vasconcelos calls attention to the fact that the *Crónica de 1344*, which was thought to contain the complete *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* translated into Castilian and which Menéndez Pidal had asserted was the source for the Portuguese *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344*, contains several words of Portuguese origins, suggesting it may be a Castilian translation from a Portuguese original (16-19). In 1951 the Portuguese scholar Luís Felipe Lindley Cintra published a critical edition of the *Crónica geral*, a work that, like the Alfonsine histories, detailed the origins and early centuries of the Iberian Peninsula, and that “continued” the Alfonsine narratives by including material on the kings of Portugal. Lindley Cintra showed that in the passages thought to derive from the ar-Rasi’s material, the Portuguese chronicle offered more “correct” readings than that of the Castilian *Crónica general de 1344* (1: liv-lxiv).

While Menéndez Pidal had hypothesized that the Portuguese chronicle was originally conceived of in Castilian and realized in Spain, most likely in the workshops of Alfonso X, Lindley Cintra politely disagreed, asserting that the *Crónica geral* was originally conceived of in Portuguese on Portuguese soil, “a análise interna do texto conduzem-nos porem a esta inesperada conclusão: a *Crónica Geral de 1344* foi redigida originalmente em lingual portuguesa a não há motivos para supor que o não tenha sido em Portugal” (1: xlv) (an internal analysis of the text leads us to this unexpected conclusion: the *Crónica Geral de 1344* was redacted originally in Portuguese and there is no reason to believe that

this did not take place on Portuguese soil).<sup>19</sup> After thus relocating this chronicle to Portuguese soil under the direction of Portuguese scholars, Lindley Cintra claims that the source used for this Portuguese chronicle was the (lost) Portuguese translation of ar-Rasi's (lost) Arab original. Lindley Cintra thus resuscitates the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* in order to privilege this Portuguese chronicle over the Castilian translations and further a narrative of Portuguese nationalism.

By the time the debate reaches Diego Catalán and María Soledad de Andrés et al. in the 1970s the existence of a lost original Arabic manuscript is an accepted (although even still unproven fact), and Catalán and Soledad de Andrés work to harmonize and, in Catalán's words, vindicate not only Gil Pérez, but also the opinions of generations of scholars.<sup>20</sup> While most of the late nineteenth and twentieth-century scholars (including Gayangos, Casiri, Dozy) who worked with the Castilian texts opined that ar-Rasi's chronicle was in all likelihood based on later fictional creations (compilations of earlier sources), it was Menéndez Pidal who accepted that the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* and Gil Pérez's

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<sup>19</sup> Lindley Cintra points out that this hypothesis was first suggested by José de Bragança in 1935. Lindley Cintra also points out several times that this hypothesis is supported by the fact that the existing Castilian copies of the *Crónica de 1344* feature a not insignificant number of lusisismos, a fact that Menéndez Pidal pointed out to both Bragança and Michaëlis (xlv-xlviii, li).

<sup>20</sup> Catalán states in the introduction that the textual history of ar-Rasi's chronicle has been a long, slow process of vindicating the Portuguese translator, Gil Pérez (xii). Sánchez Albornoz later claims it as his own vindication. He returns to the *Crónica del moro Rasis* in the 1970s in Argentina, after publishing his *España un enigma histórico* and after the publication of Catalán and Soledad de Andrés's edition of the *Crónica* in 1974. Sánchez Albornoz claims in the preface that "Catalán ha reconocido que la crónica del Moro Rasis me debe su vindicación histórica," "La *Crónica del moro Rasis* y la continuatio hispana" (11) (Catalán has recognized that the historical vindication of the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* is thanks to me).

active additions ended up in Castilian as the *Cronica de 1344*. Catalán and Soledad de Andrés present a neo-Lachmannian edition in Castilian of the said chronicle complete with stemma, according to which fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chronicles are compared to one another to reconstruct (the lost Castilian translation of) the original.<sup>21</sup> There can be few stranger modern editions of medieval literature than this Castilian edition of a lost Arab history salvaged by a lost Portuguese translation, presented without a shed of irony in “buen castellano” as the *Crónica del moro Rasis, version del ajbar muluk al-Andalus de Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Musa al-Razi, 889-955; romanizada para el rey don Dionís de Portugal hacia 1300 por Mahomad, alarfie, y Gil Pérez, clérigo de don Perianes Porçel*—accompanied by facsimiles of fourteenth-century Spanish manuscript folios. This edition, in addition to the creation of an authoritative Castilian edition of the work, is the end result of Menéndez Pidal's will that such a text exist.

With the study and edition of Catalán et al., in fact, I think we see a case study of traditional philology (and its ideological underpinnings) reaching its limits. Catalán's edition makes the theories and suggestions of the critics we have reviewed, including Menéndez Pidal and Sánchez Albornoz, take material form. Catalán accepts the textual narrative that he has inherited—including the

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<sup>21</sup> Catalán explains the process used in their edition, “para avanzar en la labor comparativa, los manuscritos van confrontados, a pie de página, con un conjunto de fuentes y textos emparentados que ayudan a comprender la estructura del *Rasis* castellano y aclaran algunos problemas de la tradición manuscrita” (Introduction xxvii) (to assist in the labor of comparison, the manuscripts are compared at the bottom of the page and read together with a group of sources and similar texts that help [the reader] to understand the structure of the Castilian *Rasis* and that clear up some of the problems of the manuscript tradition).

existence of Gil Pérez, his active role as contributor to the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis*, the use of later Castilian chronicles as source texts for the earlier material, the primacy of these sources over the Portuguese, and the suggestion that the tenth-century ar-Rasi used Latin sources (Introduction xxxvii-lxiii). While Menéndez Pidal suggested that ar-Rasi had access to a lost Mozarab work and Sánchez Albornoz had suggested that ar-Rasi used a single, identifiable Latin text, Catalán suggests he must have used an anthology of Latin works, because the text of the Moorish chronicle is so close to several Latin sources, including San Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Paul Orosio's *Historiae adversum paganos*, and el *Libro de los mandados de los reyes* (Introduction xxxi-xxxix). According to Catalán the fact that ar-Rasi used such works (and, in addition, that he had knowledge of the pseudo-Constantine ecclesiastical calendar) is not surprising because these would be the most faithful written sources on the events of 711—even more so than any Muslim oral accounts (Introduction xxxi).<sup>22</sup> The most logical conclusion (according to Catalán) is that the Muslim author had access to this variety of works in an anthology, namely the *Chronica Gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* (Introduction xxxii ).

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<sup>22</sup> “El que Ahmad al-Razi acudiera a estas fuentes latinas para escribir la historia del pasado romano y gótico de al-Andalus no es de extrañar, puesto que solo en ellas podía encontrar una información más fidedigna y completa que la recogida de la tradición oral por los musulmanes que participaron en la conquista o que vivieron durante las guerras civiles” (Introduction xxxi) (That Ahmad al-Razi made use of Latin sources to write the history of the Roman and Gothic past of al-Andalus is not surprising, given that only in these could he find more trustworthy and complete information than that collected from the oral tradition by the Muslims that participated in the conquest or that lived during the civil wars).

The edition of Catalán et al. attempts to offer textual proof of the various and varying theories of authorship and authenticity surrounding the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis* that some 100 years of Peninsular scholars produced in attempts to not only make this chronicle real (to recuperate it), but also, to make it serviceable as a source for claims about later Castilian histories and historiography. These attempts, as we have seen, continued the process of emendation and transformation that characterizes the work's development in the Middle Ages. While medieval scholars looked to the Andalusí historian ar-Rasi to legitimate material added to the narrative, Peninsular scholars shift to the translators and lost oral epics to establish the legend's textual patrimony and legitimacy. Such claims of authorship and authority in this quest for origins, as explored above, has lead to a number of hypothetical texts—the corpses of the textual tradition. These lost works, much like the *Chronicle of ar-Rasis*, reveal the anxieties and conflict inherent in the particular narrative of Spanish (Castilian) history that these lost witnesses have been used to create.

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